Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

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KENNEDY: *Profile of timidity* .....(547)

NEWBURGH: *Rockefeller ducks the issue* (547)

FOREIGN AID: *Surprising House stand* ....(548)

FULBRIGHT: *Praised by Red organ* .....(549)

BOMB TESTS: *Will JFK see the light?* .....(549)

Posture of Timidity: To Capitol Hill, the President's attitude toward the Berlin crisis seems more like a "posture of timidity and indecision" than the "posture of prudence" he advocates. But principally Kennedy seems more afraid of the attitude of the American people than he does of Khrushchev.

Subject of feverish Capital discussion last week was a piece in the pro-Kennedy Washington *Post* by liberal reporter Chalmers Roberts, who, after a country-wide investigation, concludes that the "nation is taking on a belligerent mood," and suggests that the nation thinks "its Chief Executive is too timid or lacks guts."

Americans are in an "increasingly to-heck-with-prudence mood," says Roberts, and this has "peril" for the President.

The White House entourage reflects keen worry about warning signs from the German people who dislike Kennedy's cautious policy about East Berlin. Students in Bonn sent JFK an umbrella (symbol of British appeasement of Hitler in 1938). Such a label for JFK in the eyes of the American people frightens the Democratic pros.

One of the most important—and soberly careful—GOP Senators tells HUMAN EVENTS: "If an election were held tomorrow and a Republican candidate demanded military action against Cuba, military action over Berlin, if necessary, immediate resumption of nuclear tests and a cutting down of foreign aid, he would win in a landslide against Kennedy." Many others in Congress agree with this judgment.

Not the least disturbing is the President's stated agreement with the extraordinary "memorandum" of Senator J. William Fulbright, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman. The Arkansan in that memo admits that right-wingers, in ascribing our foreign difficulties to "softness," "sell-outs" and "appeasements," have "great mass appeal" during a Cold War crisis. (See Ryskind article, "Purge of Patriotism," in Section VI.)

Our Secretary of State: Secretary Dean Rusk —in the view of many on Capitol Hill—conducts himself in the crisis less as a brave knight rallying the forces of the Free World than as a highly academic professor conducting a college seminar. Two candid camera shots of the Secretary light up his weak profile, as follows:

(1) Just after Congress passed the unprecedented $47 billion defense bill, Rusk devoted much time before a Senate committee urging creation of a new agency to plan for disarmament—brushing aside suggestions that his plea was "incongruous."

(2) According to private advices to HUMAN EVENTS from Paris, Rusk, in a talk with General Charles de Gaulle, urged the French leader to "compromise" his dispute with President Bourguiba of Tunisia. Bourguiba engaged in a provocative attack on French troops in Bizerte in the midst of the Berlin crisis.

De Gaulle turned Rusk down flatly, reportedly giving the professor a lesson, as follows: "I am not going to make Tunisia into another Cuba. Bourguiba has behaved as badly as Castro did towards you. You 'compromised'—look at the results. Bourguiba committed open aggression against France, although we had an agreement to evacuate Bizerte as soon as the main crisis over Berlin ended. He acted like a bandit—I'm not compromising. If I did, the whole of Africa would be in Soviet hands in less than a year." (It is understood that Adlai Stevenson tried the same tack on de Gaulle with the same response from the latter.)

Vindication of Newburgh: As far as public opinion is concerned, the "Battle of Newburgh" has apparently turned into a rout for the welfare staters who oppose the plan adopted against welfare chiselers by that New York community.

From the outset it was apparent that most taxpayers were in the corner of City Manager Joseph McD. Mitchell's program to discourage illegitimacy and malingering on the part of the city's aid to dependent children and home relief clients. Of the first 170 letters Mitchell received, 168 supported him. An August 11 Gallup poll showed citizens throughout the country strongly favored local control of welfare matters. Last week Gallup showed that most of those queried believed that welfare mothers with illegitimate children should be required to name the father and have him support the child (73 per cent yes, 16 per cent no, 11 no opinion).

Also last week the New York *Times* reported that, at a Chicago meeting of county officials from around the country, Mitchell "attracted more attention than the principal guest and speaker. That was Governor Rockefeller of the same state."

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One attending official said that Mitchell has become a "rallying point for the conservative approach toward welfare."

Rocky was asked in Chicago whether he thought Mitchell's program offered a constructive approach. "I don't know," said the Governor. "I don't know him."

But Nelson knew enough about the plan to oppose it last month when it was first condemned by New York's state welfare board—and before a torrent of public opinion supported Mitchell. A month ago, the Associated Press reported that Rocky "stood opposed" to the Newburgh proposals and "raised the possibility of removing officials of that city if they went ahead with their plans."

Why this conspicuous retreat by the Governor? Political pros say that Rocky, sensing the mood of the electorate, now has little interest in frying Mitchell in 1961 if it will help cook his own goose in 1962 and 1964.

Foreign Aid: Both JFK personally and his foreign aid program suffered a severe reverse last week when an obscure Democratic Congressman introduced an amendment striking at the heart of the Administration's bill—namely, the controversial long-term commitment to overseas aid. To the surprise of even conservatives (Democrats and Republicans), this eye-popping measure, to which the Democratic leadership initially assigned no chance of passage, won on a teller vote by 197 to 185.

Ironically, the little-known grass-roots Representative was Dalip S. Saund of the 29th District of California (Southern), who was born in India, a country slated to receive US funds under the bill. Saund, long a supporter of foreign aid, was alleged to be a "sorehead" by faithful Administration Democrats who claimed his proposal for reactivation of a naval hospital in his district had been turned down by the Administration (a charge which Saund denied).

One regular Democrat made the mistake of reminding Saund on the floor that his native country had benefited from foreign aid. Saund reacted violently with a patriotic statement, emphasizing that he is an American citizen and puts US interests first. This statement provoked wild applause and a real demonstration in the House chamber.

What happened? Observers—even the liberal Washington *Post*—said: "Spontaneous combustion." Anti-foreign aid sentiment in Congress, despite (and partly because of) high pressure lobbying tactics of the White House, had been building up like a steam-head. Saund's measure opened the valve. Even Kennedy's personal appeal was of little avail.

Hence, the Saund incident has inflicted quite a setback to the globaloney drive to take the power of annual review of appropriations away from Congress on the question of foreign aid. After the dust has settled from the parliamentary maneuvering and forensics, this may prove to be the constitutional victory sparked by the obscure Congressman from Southern California.

Foreign Aid Lobby: Tremendous pressure has been directed at members of Congress who resist the White House demand to pass the "backdoor" spending part of the Administration foreign aid bill. Republicans allude constantly to the White House game of dangling judgeship appointments over the heads of recalcitrant legislators. But another powerful bait is also used: promise of military installations in a member's district or state.

For instance, Virginia Democratic Senator Harry F. Byrd's amendment, which required year-to-year appropriations from Congress to continue the program, instead of the Administration provision for a five-year commitment in advance, was defeated. It was noted that Senator Russell B. Long (D.-La.), for years an opponent of foreign aid, caved in and voted for the Administration against Byrd's amendment.

At the time of the vote, according to our Louisiana correspondent, reports in the state capital circulated that the Federal government was going to reactivate the huge Camp Polk military installation near Alexandria—which would presumably result in considerable Federal expenditure in Louisiana. Just a coincidence?

Danger of Appeasement: President Kennedy has promised "no negotiation of Berlin's freedom." But what if the President's advisers (those with a "passion for negotiation") sway him to compromise? Opinions from West Germany foreshadow, if that happens, a highly unpleasant course which the Germans will have to take.

According to word from a Bonn correspondent to HUMAN EVENTS, some German trade union leaders say: "In case Kennedy fails to stay firm on Berlin, Germany will turn its policy Eastward. Adenauer will not deal with the Russians, but—after being re-elected—he will resign and another leader (at present unknown) will go to Moscow and make an economic pact with the Kremlin, by which West Germany will get markets in Russia and Red China, and in return those countries will tap German industrial goods, skills and know-how. Such a pact, of course, would doom NATO and perhaps Western civilization. But there will be no other way out for Germany, if Kennedy reneges on his promise to defend Berlin and keep it free."

Moscow Flights: Security officials are more worried than they admit about the proposed Moscow-New York run for Aeroflot, the Soviet Union's national airline. A letter to HUMAN EVENTS from an American United Nations official explains why:

"As you know, I come into daily contact with the Russians. From conversations with them one can understand why they consider it extremely important to institute a New York-Moscow air run. They

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have studied this matter several years and realize such a run will make their task of carrying classified material out of the United States an easy one.

"Their embassy and UN staffs number several hundred people. If they can shuttle between New York and Moscow several times a week in their own planes, imagine how much secret material, blueprints, scientific and technical know-how, fine instruments, machinery data, military secrets and other valuable information may be carried away without detection."

The HUMAN EVENTS correspondent went on to say that security officials had determined more than 80 per cent of the diplomatic personnel attached to the Red legations in New York are engaged in intelligence operations. "The Aeroflot deal," he added, "has us worried stiff."

UAW Publicity Stunt: A top aide to Walter Reuther—Leonard Woodcock, head of the United Auto Workers in General Motors—is threatening action before the National Labor Relations Board, if GM continues its refusal to open its books to prove its claim that present UAW wage demands are inflationary.

This is a reminder of the long fight Reuther put on to force GM to "open the books" during the 113-day UAW strike in 1945-46—and his later admission that the maneuver was merely a publicity stunt.

After the strike, Reuther told a press conference that the "open the books" issue was "just a public relations job on our part because we wanted public opinion on our side."

Commented the New York *Herald Tribune* at the time: "Reuther, patently for the purpose of his own personal advancement, provoked and led the strike against General Motors. In his futile and tragic conflict he put on the act of a firebrand and raised at least one issue, that of 'ability to pay,' which he has cynically admitted was a 'maneuver to win public support and to get the company over a barrel.' "

Reds on "Rightist Plotters": A lead story in last week's Communist *Worker* attacked the "rightist plotters" in the US Senate who have differed with Senator J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) on the right of military leaders to speak out against communism. The Red paper singled out Senators J. Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) and Karl E. Mundt (R.-S.D.) as prime villains.

It noted that, although some controls on the military's right to speak have been applied, they are "far less than demanded in the memorandum" Fulbright sent to the Secretary of Defense.

The Worker stated: "The chief targets of the rightist assault are, in addition to Fulbright, those in the Administration, like Adlai Stevenson, US Ambassador to the UN, and Chester Bowles, Undersecretary of State, who propose a policy of negotiation of differences." The Reds accused the conservative Senators of "promoting Prussian-like concepts."

The article stated that *The Worker* and Gus Hall, boss of the Communist Party of the USA, "have put the spotlight on the menace facing the nation from the real 'conspiracy,' from the ultra-right, Dixiecrat military combination." It said *The Worker* and Hall have exposed "the true face of the Goldwater forces." Fulbright, on the other hand, drew praise from the official Communist organ because "his has been one of the saner voices in the present hysteria over Berlin."

Seminars: Two proposed military seminars have recently been called off, it is believed, as a direct result of Senator J. William Fulbright's (D.-Ark.) now famous memorandum.

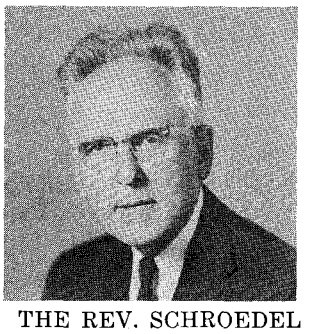
Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) recently informed the Senate that a two-week seminar in Panama for reserve officers (on the dangers of communism in Latin and Central America) had been cancelled.

In Indianapolis, Indiana, it was learned that a seminar scheduled for October at Fort Benjamin Harrison had also been cancelled. Among the speakers who had been sought at this seminar were Edwin M. Martin, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Dr. Gerhart Niemeyer of the University of Notre Dame; William C. Sullivan, assistant to Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover; Dr. Charles Malik of Lebanon, former president of the United Nations General Assembly and now a lecturer at American University; and General Thomas D. White, former Air Force Chief of Staff. (See Ryskind article.)

Nuclear Tests: Republican leaders of both the House and Senate reported in a press conference last week that they had private information that the Soviet Union has been secretly testing nuclear weapons since the US put a moratorium on testing in November, 1958.

House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) declared that "our highest government officials know of these reports, including President Kennedy." Both Halleck and Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) called for a quick resumption of nuclear tests.

Halleck acknowledged there was no "absolute proof," but, he said, "there does exist enough information to indicate the Soviets have been testing . . . . Further, we can state that this information



THE REV. SCHROEDEL

The Rev. Theophil H. Schroedel, Mount Olive Lutheran Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota: "I have always found HUMAN EVENTS exceedingly informative and valuable, and it almost always expresses my opinion. I believe you are doing the country a great service to publish this weekly newsletter."

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is known to our highest government officials." In addition, said Halleck, he was "quite confident" in the accuracy of the reports which are now secret.

There is some indication here that President Kennedy may finally go along with those who have been calling for a resumption of tests if Arthur Dean, US Ambassador to the Geneva talks, does not conclude an agreement with the Russians promptly. Kennedy will send Dean back to Geneva this week, but the President strongly indicates this will be the Russians' last chance to get an agreement.

Executive vs. Legislature: Congressman Ralph Harvey (R.-Ind.) charged from the House floor last week that Edwin M. Martin, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, had refused to carry out a policy of Congress involving a trade deal between a South American country and the United States. According to Harvey, Martin said he did not follow the policy because he didn't agree with Congress.

Harvey also noted that Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges refused to indicate whether his Department would outlaw the sale of surplus commodities to Communist nations, even though this was included as a statement of policy in the recently passed omnibus farm bill.

Said Harvey: "If this is going to be the policy and the manner of carrying out the policy as indicated by Congress, we have lost the constitutional authority that is vested in us."

Aiding the Enemy: On August 7 the US Commerce Department approved an export license so an American company could ship $2.5 million worth of railway transportation equipment to Communist-dominated Bulgaria.

A day earlier the Department approved a $639,000 shipment of iron and steel scrap to Yugoslavia. On August 9 the Department placed stamps of approval on almost $1.5 million worth of synthetic rubber earmarked for Soviet Russia. Almost $400,000 more was approved for four other Communist nations. Even Castro's Cuba is on the list. On August 11 the Department approved shipment of a $929 air-conditioner to Cuba.

Such facts as these have been brought to light by Representative Thomas M. Pelly (R.-Wash.), who has introduced legislation (HR 8547) which, if enacted, would bar *any* US official from granting export licenses for *any* item—strategic or not—going behind the Iron Curtain. Under terms of the Export Control Act, the Secretary of Commerce is presently empowered by the President to pass or reject licenses on the basis of the item's strategic value.

Representative Pelly, who raised the issue in the House August 14, said he feels confident the American people today would regard any material headed for Red nations as strategic. Passage of his bill, he added, "would serve notice on the Kremlin that this nation, as a sovereign state, has 'had it,' that we are fed up to the teeth with their threats and manufactured crises and with their platitudes about peace."

The dollar value of some of the items may not be great, admitted Pelly, but he said such things as industrial equipment and parts, pipe fittings, ball bearings, chemical processing equipment and airplane parts are "vitally needed material for a build-up of the Communist military potential."

Pelly suggested that US-supplied equipment may indeed have helped the Russians orbit a man around the world for more than 24 hours. "Through the passage of this bill, Congress will in effect quarantine outlaw nations as any civilized society would quarantine a community ravaged by plague," he added.

Capitol Camera: Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah, now visiting Peiping, has announced he will support Red China's bid to the United Nations this fall. Ghana has received $4 million in aid from the US.

• *Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles made some curious statements regarding Red China at a press conference in Washington last week. He said we must "contain" China, but "we must determine how to let the steam out of the Chinese boiler." He then hinted that the real reason China is aggressive is because it is a "have-not" nation and needs "food and oil." Many Congressmen are wondering whether Bowles is suggesting trade with Red China. He has done so before.*

• Former Senator William F. Knowland, now editor of the Oakland *Tribune,* will serve on a US committee which will meet in London October 26 to discuss means of strengthening the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

• *Delegates to the Uruguayan conference, which called for putting President Kennedy's foreign aid program for Latin America into motion, struck out a tough statement from the conference proclamation directed at Fidel Castro. Peru had inserted in the original draft a resolution stressing the necessity of "free and periodical elections." The United States, it was reported, threw cold water on the resolution.*

• Congressman J. Vaughan Gary (D.-Va.), former chairman of the House Foreign Aid Appropriations Subcommittee, claims the $8.8 billion price tag of the Administration's foreign aid bill is misleading. He says the true figure is $26.6 billion.

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Political Powerhouses: Unions in Washington

AN editorial from the United Auto Workers' *Ammunition*, of May, 1957, states: "We are in politics. Democratic politics, Republican politics, and non-partisan politics. UAW members are Democratic and Republican legislators in state legislatures. We sit in the legislature in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and New Jersey. We are mayors, members of school boards, aldermen, city councilmen, members of township councils, county supervisors, county auditors, tax collectors and dog catchers."

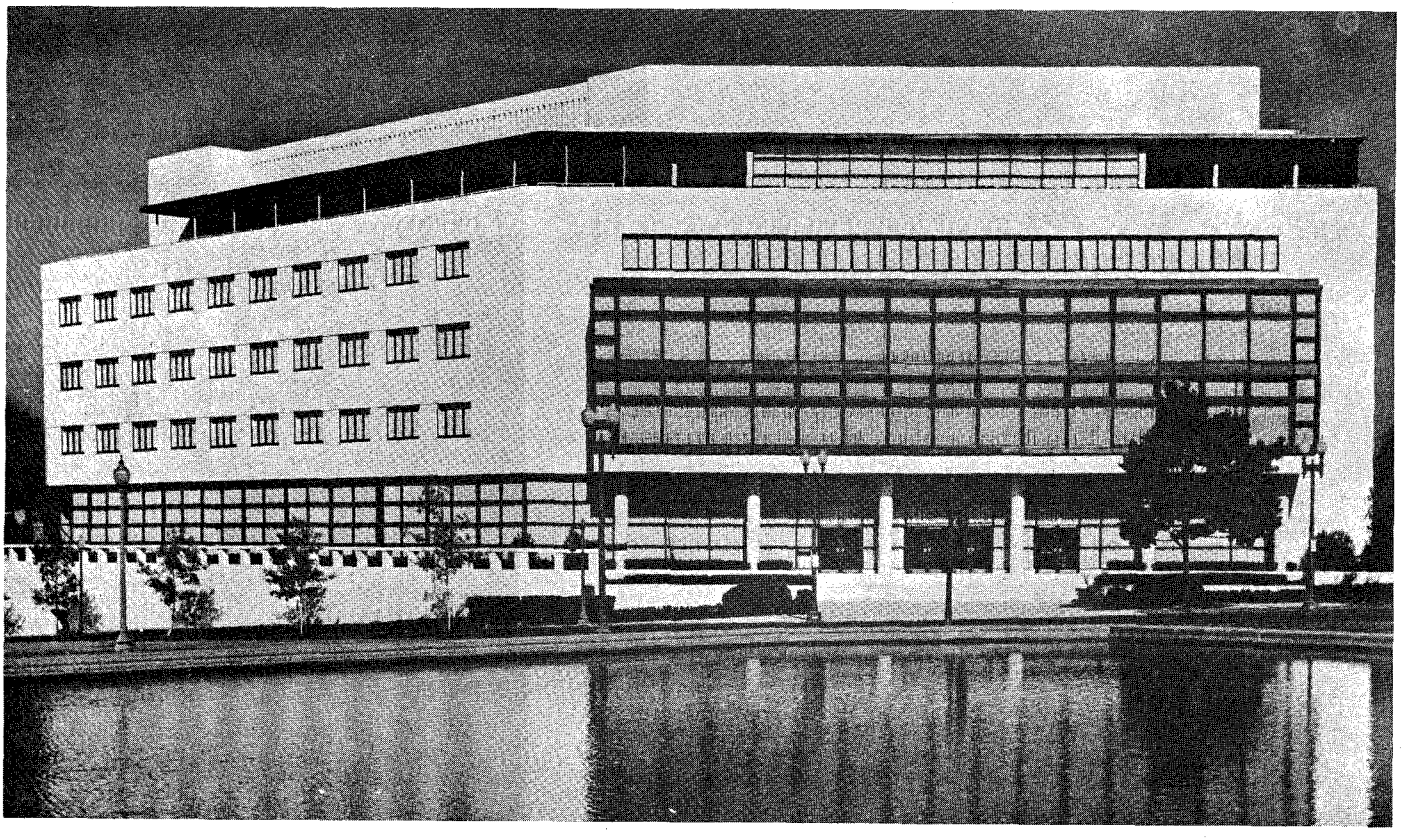
This interest in politics is not a temporary engagement by organized labor for immediate gain but rather a permanent marriage. And as with any newlyweds, suitable housing must be found. Ideally, the accommodations should be attractive, near one's source of income and suitable for formal entertaining as well as casual chats with close friends. In the marriage of Big Labor and Big Government, the obvious place to set up housekeeping is in the nation's capital.

There are now over two hundred labor unions with offices in Washington. Since the end of World War II, labor unions have made the representatives of industry—the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States—look like pikers by building what are generally agreed as Washington's most opulent office buildings.

In earlier times, organized labor located in or near the center of the industry with which it was concerned. Often, a labor union has simply continued to maintain its headquarters in the city in which it was originally founded. For years, the Bakers and Confectionary Workers Union was located in Chicago. The Carpenters and Joiners were in Indianapolis, the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers in Quincy, Massachusetts, and the Operating Engineers in Illinois.

But the New Deal proved that what labor wanted —a greenhouse in which to nurture and grow the seeds of ideological change—was Washington, D.C. So the move started and union officials flocked to Washington where birds of a similiar feather were already nesting. The power over an industry had become subjugated to national power.

An AFL-CIO spokesman told HUMAN EVENTS: "This move to Washington has been a development since New Deal days. It has happened partly be-



Teamsters Union's $5 Million Marble Palace

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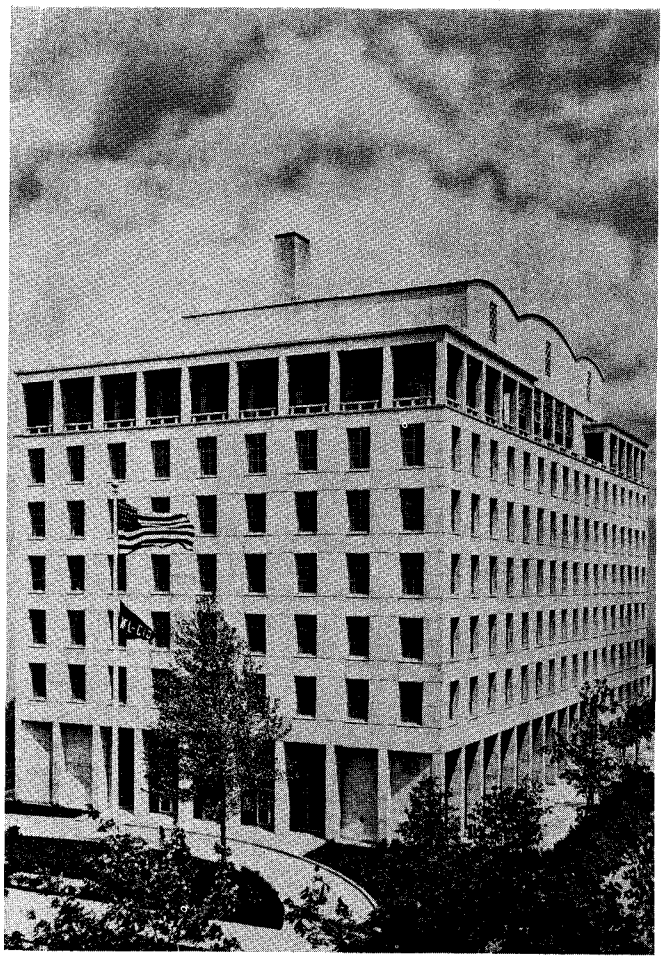


$4 Million AFL-CIO Headquarters—Home of COPE.

cause we've grown more concerned with general welfare than with just more money."

"The government's gotten bigger," he continued. "Now we've got Federal housing, Federal urban renewal, Federal military construction and Federal highway programs. All these things are controlled from Washington. Take the building trades. Why shouldn't they move here?"

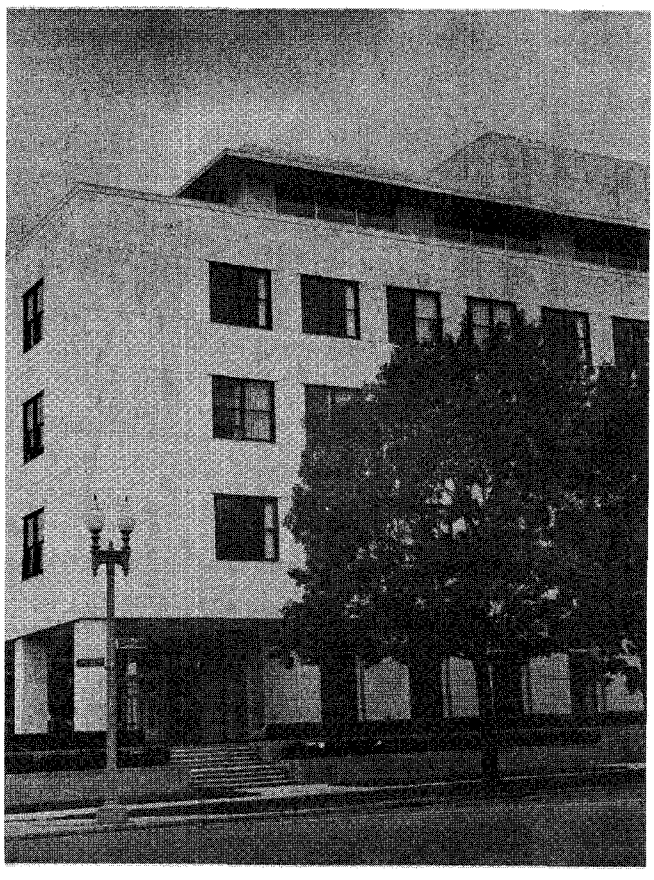
His reasoning, and that of the building trades, is eminently logical. With Washington as headquarters, union officials can bring delegations from a particular district to visit their congressman, leaving unvoiced the statement: "Don't fight us, buster, we can swing a hell of a lot of votes in your home town."

With vast research departments, led by a flying wedge of liberal economists—paid, fed and housed by the unions—a particular piece of legislation may be shown as necessary for the welfare of the nation, and the moon, indeed, proved to be made of green cheese.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education maintains its political strategists here, working with complete and open co-operation in Presidential, Senatorial and Congressional campaigns. Union newspapers, with circulation approaching 20 million, are regularly published from their Washington headquarters parroting, and often suggesting, the line taken by the Democratic National Committee.

Congressional office staffs are chosen and hired with the "assistance" of the unions for COPE-backed

$2.3 Million Operating Engineers Union Building



Brand New $2 Million Carpenters Union Building

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congressmen. Gerald T. Flynn, who represented the Racine-Kenosha area of Wisconsin, made no secret of hiring office staffs with open union affiliation. It backfired, however, and he was defeated in 1960.

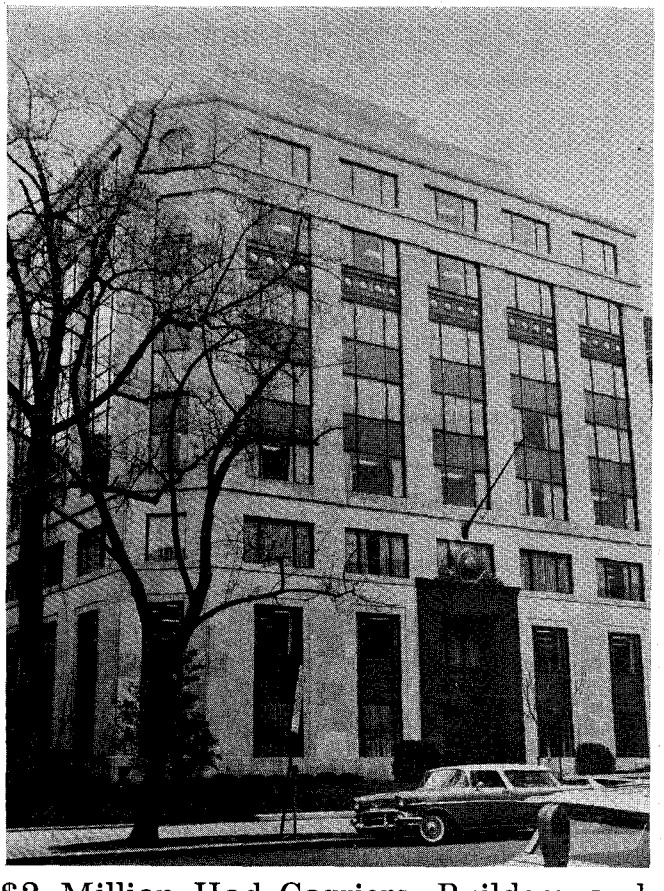
In the move to Washington, an added dividend has accrued to the unions. As organized labor grew more powerful it was hard-pressed to keep up proletarian appearances. The pretense is no longer necessary. With reverse psychology, the unions point to their marble walled and deep pile carpeted buildings as proof of their new-found respectability. The buildings have become tourist attractions with union members brought to Washington to be shown how much their officials are doing for them.

IN the realm of public airing of union-espoused causes, Washington, D. C., presents an ideal, fertile area for the dissemination of union news and programs. Union officials issue daily cartloads of press releases covering the broad front of welfare legislation. The officers of the unions are handy for nationally televised interview programs and debates.

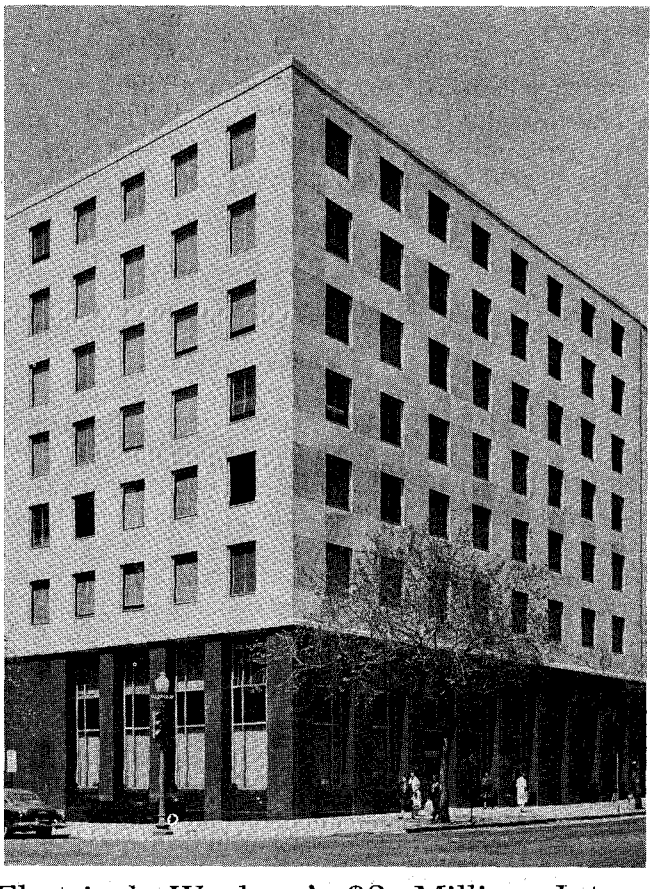
One union, by its convenient access to Congress, may even handle research and publicity for a given member of Congress, provided he follows the union line.

Socially, the location of headquarters gives union big-wigs the opportunity to hob-nob with members of the Washington bureaucracy in lobbying and politicking for union goals. Lobbying with bureaus is convenient and time-saving for the Washington based union.

Machinist Union's $3.2 Million Headquarters Building



$2 Million Hod Carriers, Builders and Common Laborers Building



Electrical Workers' $2 Million International Headquarters Building

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$6 Million Solar Building Owned by Baker's & Confectionery Workers

Union officials by the hundreds now serve in important, influential government positions.

The headquarters themselves are impressive. Comfortably ensconced next to the United States Capitol is the $5 million Teamsters Union Building, where Dave Beck, former Teamsters' President, was reported to have paid $100 thousand to move a structural beam that interfered with his view of the Capitol. He didn't want to move his desk.

Towering over Lafayette Park, one block from the White House, is the $4 million headquarters of the AFL-CIO. Home of the Committee on Political Education, the building houses the largest single group of lobbyists in Washington labor circles.

IRONICALLY, the move to Washington has been facilitated by business firms who lease office space from the unions in advance of construction. The international Union of Machinists moved into its $3.2 million building over two years ago. Now its tenants include: Guardian Life Insurance, New York Life Insurance, Reader's Digest, Western Electric, Associated Press and the Canadian Press.

On 16th Street, the scandal-ridden Bakers & Confectionary Workers own the $6 million Solar Building. Basche & Co., advertised as the second-largest stockbrokers in the world, leases the entire first floor of the building. The well-decorated basement offices were rented by the Volunteers for Nixon during the 1960 campaign.

Across the street is the Hod Carriers, Builders & Common Laborers Union Building, an eight-story edifice completed in 1960 at a cost of over $2 million. International Telephone and Telegraph Company has its offices here.

The Operating Engineers Union Building, located on 17th Street, was recently completed at a cost of $2.3 million. These buildings, and their cost in rank-and-file dues, are the rule rather than the exception.

An old machine shop maxim says, "Use the right tool for the right job." The tools chosen by Big Labor are the Supreme Court, the National Labor Relations Board and the Congress of the United States.

They are all here, in Washington, D. C.

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The Ordeal of John Marshall Butler

By Holmes Alexander

BACK in the early 1920's the right tackle for Johns Hopkins University intercepted a University of Maryland forward pass in the big game—ran 65 yards across the enemy goal line. He was John Marshall Butler, a star performer who refused offers to play for West Point, Wisconsin and Michigan, a class officer, a popular campus figure. Then, as now, John Butler appeared as a limber, handsome gracious person with a warm disposition and unforgettable smile. An aristocrat by birth, he had to sell newspapers and work in a Baltimore mattress factory—at $3 a week—to help out his family while plugging his way through high school. He always intended going to college and becoming a lawyer, but World War I intervened. He enlisted as a private the day President Wilson declared war, served overseas with the 110 Field Artillery, 29th Division, and came home a corporal.

Again, resuming his fight for education, Butler worked his way through Johns Hopkins and took his law degree by night work. Himself a Methodist, he married Miss Louise Abell, a high-born Maryland Catholic, and soon joined the top drawer Baltimore law firm of Venable, Baetjer and Howard where he was made a partner in 1939.

But—alas for that touchdown run. Somebody, not Butler, was offside. The play was called back. A triumphant moment was turned sour for Butler by another person's mistake.

Butler Senses Trouble

A quarter century later—in the Senate election of 1950—Butler would have a similar experience on a much larger scale. As prelude to it, perhaps with a premonition of trouble ahead, Butler stood with a friend on a cold, rainy day in March, 1950, in the sheltering doorway of the Munsey Building in downtown Baltimore. They were on their way to Annapolis where Butler was to file in the Republican primary election for nomination as U. S. Senator.

"You know, Bill," he said to his friend, General William C. Purnell of the Maryland National Guard, "I'm getting cold feet about this. Maybe I'd better call it off."

Both men scoffed at the thought. But it may have been just as well that Butler did not foresee in any detail what lay ahead. He was to unseat the veteran, non-New Deal Democrat, Millard Evelyn Tydings,* regarded at that time as an Olympian immortal in Maryland politics. Tydings came from an old distinguished Maryland family, but had been forced to work as a railroad hand to get his start in life. By 26 he was in the Maryland House of Delegates which he left to engage both in the Mexican punitive expedition and World War I. He returned from France a lieutenant colonel, wearer of the Distinguished Service Cross. As a lawyer in Havre de Grace, he reentered the Maryland House, rose to Speaker at 30, went on to the State Senate, the national House of Representatives and, in 1926, to the United States Senate. Redheaded, restless, proud and individualistic, Tydings took no orders, least of all from the leaders of the New Deal whom he instantly distrusted. He remained a loyal Democrat and supported all the party's nominees, but there was no equivocation in his conservative record. Tydings voted against the NRA, the AAA, the TVA, the first Guffey Coal Bill, the Wagner Labor Act, the Court Plan, the Reorganization Plan.

Tydings, too, would suffer greatly from the 1950 campaign. A high spirited and patriotic man, he would be humiliated by his defeat, the more so because it came at the hands of a political unknown, and mortified by cruel and circumstantial slander. It happens that Tydings is a personal and family friend of this writer. I supported him and voted for him in 1950. I last saw him at the graveside of my father, and I would be instinctively incapable of writing anything in derogation of Tydings, a soldier and gentleman of high character and attainments.

Senator John Marshall Butler

*Former Senator Tydings died February 9 of this year.

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But the Tydings story has often been told—while that of his opponent has not. To John Butler this election of a decade ago was a traumatic experience from which he recovered mainly through a sunny disposition and a sustaining knowledge of his own innocence. As a sensitive and gentle person, he underwent injuries which hurt more than he has ever admitted, and he endured slurs and indignities which were unjust to him and unworthy of many persons who gave them.

The 1950 Maryland Senatorial election to this day is used as a classroom model for dirty politics. A Senate subcommittee in 1951 investigated this election and published a widely-distributed, oft-quoted pamphlet which called the Tydings-Butler fray a "backstreet" campaign exploiting the "big doubt" and the "big lie." The Honorable Charles Taft, a public moralizer of some repute, founded the Fair Campaigning Practices Committee as a result of "the excesses of the Butler-Tydings campaign of 1950 in Maryland." In 1956, a Brookings Institute fellow, Stanley Kelley, Jr., published a book titled *Professional Public Relations and Political Power*—Chapter IV of which is about the same campaign and headed "Merchandising Doubt." In 1958, the Columbia Broadcasting System had a television series called *Smear and Fraud* with you-know-what as a stellar case history. Actually CBS substituted another because of strong protests by Senator Butler and his friends, but myths die harder than that. Ask the man-in-the-street for an example of low-blow campaigning and the answer is almost certainly this same misunderstood contest.

McCarthy's Role

The man-in-the street, and for that matter, very often, the man at the editorial desk and the professorial chair, do not really know what happened. The Freudian power of suggestion is involved. And the Pavlov association of ideas. Senator Joe McCarthy had a much-exaggerated part in the election—and how easily people used to salivate over McCarthyism! Butler met McCarthy just once during the election period, on which occasion the Wisconsin Senator promised a contribution which he did not or could not deliver. The two men were temperamentally different and never became more than Senate colleagues. The Senate subcommittee which damned many of the tactics, including those of McCarthy's office force, on the whole took a fairly sophisticated view of the affair. "Much of the Maryland campaign," the subcommittee reported, "was in the regular and traditional American pattern. And like any vigorously fought election, it had good and bad factions which stand out . . . . The information developed by the subcommittee is not deemed sufficient for recommending action for unseating Senator John Marshall Butler."

Butler had never run for public office, but he felt that Tydings had lost touch with the Maryland people and could be beaten. Tydings made things worse for himself by accepting the chairmanship of a subcommitee to investigate Owen Lattimore whom Senator McCarthy had accused as the chief of Russian espionage in the United States. There is no doubt that McCarthy overstated the case, but Chairman Tydings appeared far more anxious to discredit McCarthy than to get at the truth, whatever it might be. He treated McCarthy with scorn, Lattimore with deference and Communist leader Earl Browder with politeness. In summarizing the bizarre investigation, Tydings dismissed all the charges of Communist influence in government as "a hoax and a fraud."

The matter went almost immediately into the court of public opinion. Tydings was up for reelection. In the September primary, Maryland Democrats were facing a cycle of history. Back in the Democratic primary of 12 years before, when Franklin Roosevelt tried to purge Tydings by backing Congressman David Lewis, a Tydings campaign publication of September 13, 1938, read:

> "Voters of Maryland—Don't hand Maryland to the Communists. Don't nominate for the Senate David J. Lewis, a man who counsels with the Communists."

As the wheel swung to 1950, Tydings had a primary opponent of no political status, Hugh M. Monaghan II, 31, a Catholic and nephew of the pastor of the St. Ambrose Catholic Church of Baltimore. But Monaghan filed against Tydings with the announcement that he and Maryland Democrats: "wanted to know . . . . why Tydings covered up Communists and leftists in a recent investigation made by a Senate subcommittee which he headed."

Thus the issue was laid bare before Butler, who had a primary of his own, was even scheduled to face Tydings. Another Democrat, former Congressman John Meyer, also filed in the Democratic race, but was inconspicuous. Tydings reacted to the charges by ridiculing them, by citing his own fine record as statesman and soldier, by denouncing "government by unfounded character assassination." The Senator easily won his primary, but the first wave of protest was recorded in the vote against him—40,115 for Meyer and 47,718 for Monaghan. The Baltimore *Sun* prophetically observed on post-election day, September 19, 1950:

> "Neither Mr. Meyer nor Mr. Monaghan had much of an organization and neither was well known. The fact that two such candidates could between them get nearly 90,000 votes against an experienced and well known candidate like Mr. Tydings show that the attacks on the Senator, growing out of the State Department investigation, have carried some weight."

Butler ran a clean, hard-hitting campaign, as did Tydings. But there was no way on earth for the issue of the Senator's handling of the Lattimore case to be kept out of the public discussion—and no reason why it should have been. As an inexperienced campaigner, Butler stayed as much as possible in the company of the veteran Theodore Roosevelt Mc Keldin, Mayor of Baltimore and GOP candidate for Governor. In retrospect, considering how the State and national tide was running, Butler would probably have been elected even if none of the overpublicized things had ever happened.

Eagerness at Fault

But as in the hard-luck touchdown run, somebody kept getting "offside" out of sheer eagerness. Money cascaded into the State from Texas, Oregon, California, Chicago and New York. These contributors saw a chance to send a solid Republican conservative to the Senate. There is no law which limits outside contributions so long as they are duly reported—only the candidate and his family are restricted as to amounts. Butler spent most of his waking hours on the hustings. He knew little that went on at his Baltimore headquarters where the bookkeeping was an undeniable shambles. On the night of November

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2, Butler was asleep when the phone rang at his bedside:

"My name is William Fedder," a strange voice said. "I'm your printer and you owe me $18,000." "You couldn't be my printer," said Butler. "He is Ragen Spencer. However, if anybody assumed obligations in my name, whether authorized or not, you needn't worry. I'll be responsible."

The man insisted on reassurance, so Butler wrote him the note which Fedder later charged was demanded back from him by some of McCarthy's henchmen. Fedder's testimony was not very convincing, and the note appeared in the investigation proceedings, doing great credit to Butler's sense of honor and obligation:

> "At this time I want to give you my personal assurance that I do guarantee payment for any of your services that have not been paid for at the time the campaign is completed. This assurance applies to materials that have been delivered and to materials that were not shipped in time for use in the campaign. Sincerely, John Marshall Butler."

LONG before this, the Republican party officials in Maryland had decided that Butler had a chance to win if he were strongly promoted. Accordingly, three of these leaders, Jacob France, Robert Bonnell and Bertha Atkins, along with Butler, came together for a meeting with a highly-recommended publicity agent, the late John Jonkel of Chicago. His price was high—too high for Butler to meet—but backers were found to pay it. Butler already had a campaign treasurer, Cornelius P. Mundy, who was registered in Annapolis as required by Maryland law. Contrary to much misunderstanding, Jonkel was never expected to be anything except a publicist. But he was a take-charge personality who overstepped his authority and eventually was fined $5,000 for serving as *de facto* campaign manager, a post which Maryland law requires to be filled by a State resident. Despite this technical violation, which involved poor housekeeping but no moral wrong, Jonkel was what the Butler campaign needed. He was a hard-driving, nice-guys-finish-last tactician, keen at perceiving the opening and quick to exploit it. Jonkel explained with perfect frankness in the post-election investigation:

> "We worked with the fact that a very, very big doubt existed in the minds of the people of Maryland. I said, 'Let's not get into the business of proving whether or not (the Lattimore probe) was a whitewash, let's stay in the business that a doubt does exist.' That was our whole slant in Mr. Butler's speeches, in our press releases . . . . Most of the time he would say, 'You are a father, you are a mother, are you satisfied?' . . . . Those are the questions he asked. That is the way he campaigned."

In the last hectic days an outfit called Democrats for Butler, but largely staffed and financed by Colonel McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* and the Washington *Times-Herald,* entered the battle royal. Democrats for Butler published a four-page tabloid called "From the Record" which included anti-Tydings quotations and a clearly-labelled "composite" photograph which showed Tydings and Browder in friendly juxtaposition. The material was shown to Butler who in the confusion of battle paid little attention to what his publicity manager was doing. The composite picture was a crude political trick, used in another instance by the Tydings forces, and pretty much part of this rough old political sport. Butler did not admire such tactics, nor personally employ them, but he did not run away from the blame. He has never repudiated "From the Record," and never will.

By the last ten days of the campaign Butler was convinced that he would win, and Tydings later admitted that he felt the creeping chill of defeat for some weeks before it happened. On November 7, Butler won by 43,000 votes—joining McKeldin and two Republican candidates in the landslide.

But what a day it seemed for Butler. A fine ambition realized! A victory scored for his party! Exhausted from campaigning and suffering from politician's handshake, the Senator-elect went to the Virginia mountains for a short rest.

There was a calm before the storm. At first Tydings shrugged off the defeat as a party disaster. Interviewed by *U.S. News and World Report* on November 17, he said this about his defeat:

> "The basic reason, in my judgment, was that the primary campaign for the governorship was so bitter that it demoralized the Democratic party."

But, 30 days after the defeat, Tydings went before the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to charge unfair practices and violation of Federal and State election laws. By this time the stunning news of Tydings' knockout by a virtual unknown had circulated nationally. The hunt for "significance" had begun with some very excitable editorial language. A good man had been "smeared." An election had been "bought." This terrible thing "McCarthyism" had invaded the Free State.

In what should have been his finest hour of personal triumph, Butler turned up to take his place in the 78th Congress. He and his entire campaign were under investigation by the Senate subcommittee. The Jonkel case was headed for the courts. One day three FBI agents walked into Butler's room at the Senate Office Building. They told him that they had come to investigate him for corruption.

Butler Cooperates

Butler was aghast—and furious. He was a man of honor—of blameless record. To be treated like a crook was more than he could take. He ordered the investigators out of his sight, but when he simmered down he called them back and told them they had his full permission and cooperation for a complete search of his life and records.

Butler had nothing to fear—nothing to hide. His finances for 30 years were kept in two books—one showing income, the other outgo. But he resented the insinuations. The Attorney General of the United States was heard at a cocktail party to say that his probe would end by putting people in jail. President Truman, introduced to Butler on the Senate floor, reacted with a startled, "Oh, you're that—Butler!"

One day an FBI agent brought Butler a certified copy of a check for $10,000. It was signed by a Texas millionaire and endorsed on the back by Butler's name.

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"This is clear proof of corruption, Senator," said the agent.

"Yes, if it's genuine," agreed Butler. "But you have seen thousands of my signatures in the Mercantile Trust Company at Baltimore while going over my bank accounts. You know that's not my handwriting."

The agent had to admit that it wasn't. Somebody forged Butler's name and presumably spent the money for campaign expenses.

There seemed little doubt that the Truman Administration was determined to disgrace Butler, even though there was no chance of upsetting the election result. This was bad enough, but it was the work of political adversaries and doomed to failure. Former Baltimore Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro, a Democrat and seasoned politico, couldn't understand why Butler should be upset about it all. "He won, didn't he?" demanded D'Alesandro: The Senator's skin was not yet politically toughened. He was hurt by what the Democrats were doing, hurt even more by the fade-out of fair weather friends and by the seeming apathy of national Republicans like the late Senators Taft and Wherry, who were sympathetic but not very active in his defense.

"How long has Butler been here?" asked Taft almost wistfully. "A few weeks? Wait till he's been around as long as I have and he won't feel so badly."

Butler withdrew more and more within himself. For years he had taken lunch and played golf every Sunday after church at the Baltimore Country Club. He broke off the habit. "Nobody wants to see *me*," he said. He would burst out with anger and despair over newspaper articles and cartoons, calling one or two of his closest friends in the middle of the night for advice and comfort.

Height of the Ordeal

It was a period of bitter anguish—and one that is easy in retrospect to understand. How many men could afford such a search into the corners of their lives? How many, even though virtuous and unashamed, could eat and sleep and go the daily rounds under such circumstances? How many could endure, as Butler did for eight months, to sit in the gold-fish bowl of the Senate and be subject to coolness, outright snubs, the continuing jibes and jeers from newspapers, magazines and radio?

"Only my religion sustained me," Butler told this writer 10 years after the fact. "I reached out a hand and there was my God. Nothing else saved me."

He was a walking nervous breakdown. He might be indicted for technical breach of the Maryland Practices Law. His life's savings of over $30,000 appeared to be forfeited. The prize of victory had crumbled in his hand. One day it occurred to Butler that the costs were too great. Nothing was worth this much stress and mortification. He decided to resign from the Senate. He prepared a speech of resignation, which began:

> **"Mr. President, there are some things in life worth even more than a seat in the United States Senate. Of these, honesty and integrity are the foremost. I stand on this floor today to defend the honesty and integrity which coupled with sincerity, purpose and arduous campaigning, brought me to this great body where some who did not like my coming now seek to destroy and set to naught."**

It is still today a thrilling document which vibrates with emotion and a demand for justice. But Butler never delivered the speech. Good friends wisely advised against it.

The Senator could not know at the time, but help was in sight. It took the powerful but wholly unexpected form of two great gentlemen of the Senate, not of Butler's party, but strongly of the opinion that he was being shabbily treated. Senators Harry Byrd of Virginia and the late Walter George of Georgia went to bat for the lonely man from Baltimore. Inside the Democratic Policy Committee, and in the cloakrooms, these genial autocrats of the Upper Chamber let it be known that the torment had been carried far enough. Two other Senate Democrats, Russell Long of Louisiana and the late Herbert O'Conor of Maryland, joined forces.

For Butler, the long ostracism was over. On August 20, 1951, the subcommittee report came to the Senate floor. Not a single Senator rose to oppose it. Not a vote was cast against the recommendation which permitted Butler to keep his seat. To his everlasting credit O'Conor crossed the aisle to Butler and said: "This is the finest tribute that a man could receive." Now the cloud on Butler's name was gone. He was promptly received into the most exclusive of all clubs.

Time, it is said, will cure everything. Now as he looks back, Butler is without bitterness. His reelection in 1956 by 10,000 more votes than he had in 1950 added to the stature he had already attained as an able, respected, affectionately-held member. In the decade, Butler made many searching and admired speeches into matters closest to his interest and competence—the Supreme Court, the treaty power, the protection of the American Republic by its own body of Law, the need for maintaining American skills in shipbuilding, the vast complexity of the Communist challenge at home and abroad, the need for fiscal responsibility and the responsibility of his party to help restore a "republican form of government."

A man, they say, who survives a test of his courage and character is the better for it. At least, in the matter of John Marshall Butler, his country is the gainer because he stuck out one of the most wringing ordeals in recent political history.

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--- COMMENTARY ---

Wisecrack: *"Washington is the only insane asylum on earth that is run by its own inmates."*

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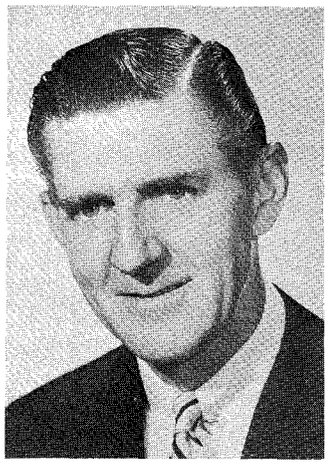
A Shameful Exhibition By Chicago Trade Fair

TIMID OFFICIALS of Chicago's big International Trade Fair have been unable to hush up the story of how anti-US propaganda was distributed right under their noses. The fair exhibited products from all over the world, including those from two Communist nations—Poland and Yugoslavia.



SIEGRIST

DELOVE

A patriotic exhibit set up by Chicago's non-profit Independence Hall Association, founded by Dr. Sydney DeLove, included a replica of the Liberty Bell which small-fry visitors were encouraged to ring.

While DeLove was promoting freedom from one side of the aisle, the Yugoslav exhibition, on the other side, was passing out packets of Red propaganda.

Dr. DeLove obtained a set of the Yugoslav pamphlets—nine of them—and took them to fair officials in protest. Among the Red booklets, all in English, was one blaming the United States for the murder of the Congo's Soviet-backed Premier, Patrice Lumumba. Others dealt with Communist organization and the "advantages" of a Marxist economy.

Before the fair opened, DeLove was forbidden to display copies of J. Edgar Hoover's "Masters of Deceit," a textbook on Communist tactics—because it had nothing to do with trade or commerce. Yet, the same officials who banned Hoover's book decided that they could not prevent the distribution of the Yugoslav pamphlets—even the one blaming the US for Lumumba's murder!

A Polish exhibit official meanwhile protested the ringing of the Liberty Bell at the Independence Hall display. The fair director, who was reluctant to do anything about Communist propaganda for fear of stepping on the Red's toes, didn't hesitate to ask DeLove to stop ringing the bell.

Bob Siegrist, Milwaukee radio commentator, told the story during one of his nightly broadcasts. Fair officials first denied the existence of the Red pamphlets. Confronted with the evidence, the chief executive of the association sponsoring the fair, Thomas Coulter, admitted the distribution, but denied they were offensive—adding that the US State and Commerce Departments had approved the material.

State and Commerce denied the charge—a Commerce Department spokesman explaining that his agency had no authority to screen fair exhibits.

Siegrist challenged Coulter, Ralph Bergsten (managing director of the fair) and Pavle Escegovic (assistant director of the Yugoslav exhibit) to defend their actions on his radio program to be broadcast live from the fair. None of the three officials showed up.

Fair officials, having lost their battle to suppress the story about the Red pamphlets, subsequently presented DeLove with a written order to stop ringing the Liberty Bell. DeLove removed his exhibit and is considering legal action.

The letter from fair officials ordering him to stop ringing the bell will serve as another fascinating exhibit to be added to his growing collection of Americana—along with the nine Red pamphlets.

Entrenching an Image

The United States Information Agency is spending $1.8 million to send three official exhibits to the USSR to impress the Russians with the American way of life.

On display in an exhibit entitled "Transportation U.S.A." are an $11,475 light airplane, a $5,539 American sports car with air conditioning and a 19-foot house trailer.

Explains USIA: "The Russians are interested in seeing the best we have."

But the Soviet bosses will say: "See, these are typical capitalist luxuries reserved for the very rich."

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Behind the Promises

From the Chicago Tribune

THE NEW program of the Soviet Communist party obviously was intended as a glowing forecast of what Russia hopes to achieve over the next two decades. But the 50,000 words unintentionally tell quite another story—a story of misery, endless shortages, and grueling toil which are the lot of the average Russian today and, even the program admits, will be his lot for years to come.

From the book sized program, we present some of the promises which, because they are boastful pledges for the future, tell the story of the present:

The program asserts that in the plan's second decade [1971-80] "every family, including newlyweds, will have a comfortable flat conforming to the requirements of hygiene and cultured living"—in other words, with plumbing. Log huts of the peasants will be replaced, or at least rebuilt, in the same decade.

The program says "women must be given relatively lighter and yet sufficiently well paid jobs." This presumably means they no longer will be compelled to labor as bricklayers, street sweepers, and even miners.

Within the first decade, the program insists, "the demand for all sections of the population for high quality consumer goods [clothing, footwear, comfortable furniture, household appliances] will be amply satisfied." It adds: "Production of motorcars for the population will be considerably extended." That is, today only the privileged few in the supposedly classless society enjoy these amenities.

Within the same decade, the plan boasts free secondary education will be available to everyone, schools where children are boarded will become free, and there will be free homes for the aged, and free medical care for all. Today, Russians pay for the books their children use in schools, pay to keep children in institutions while parents work, pay for care of the aged, and pay for medicines and hospital care.

In 1961-70, the plan promises, good shopping facilities will be arranged throughout the country, and a network of modern roads will be built. The "entire population will be able to satisfy to the full its need" for varied foods, because production of meat, fats, and dairy goods as well as fruits and vegetables "will rise substantially."

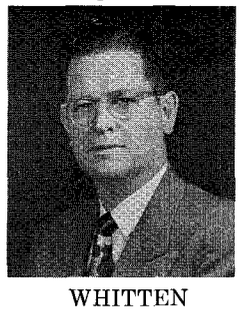
Of course, the party's grandiose pledges are hedged with loopholes, like a contract drawn by a shifty lawyer. The fine print says: "The aggravation of the international situation and the resulting necessary increase of expenditure on defense may prevent the realization of the plan for the upsurge of the well-being of the Soviet people."

We have presented some of the main promises of the program. Now, we ask a question. What would be the reaction of Americans, if, say tomorrow somebody got to his feet in Washington and promised the people of this nation that in 20 years they all could have individual family housing with plumbing, that consumer goods from clothing to motorcars would become available in the stores within 10 years, that free high school educations would become available to everyone, that good shopping facilities and highways would be built throughout the nation, and that enough food of all kinds would go on sale?

The people would think, rightly, that the orator was out of his head. The United States has had all these and much more for so many years that our people regard the makings of the Soviet utopia as a rather poor minimum standard of living.

Congressman Whitten's Taped Interview—$7

Jamie L. Whitten, now serving his eleventh term as Democratic Congressman from the second district of Mississippi, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Whitten has been unopposed in the last nine of his eleven elections. Considering the present foreign aid bill, Mr. Whitten describes the dangers and fallacies of this program, and discusses the shift of Federal power to the Executive branch of the government.



WHITTEN

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13. Thomas M. Pelly (R.-Wash.)
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15. James F. Battin (R.-Mont.)
16. Peter H. Dominick (R.-Colo.)
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The Social Gospel

Earlier in this century Protestant clergymen in great numbers thought it their chief duty to alter society with plans and programs of their own devising. Sentimental liberals without a profound sense of sin or a New Testament doctrine of salvation felt that the Kingdom of God was to be realized here and now if we could only draw up the blueprint and work hard enough. They were almost exclusively occupied with what was called the "social gospel," which as a coherent movement is now extinct, though some folk have not found it out.

There are those in the Church who use the language of orthodoxy with the old thought patterns of the social gospel. This explains in part why statements by church groups are sometimes inadequately conceived, ineffectively articulated, and are devisive and unproductive in results.

The reaction against preoccupation with social panaceas and political pronouncements may be driving the Church to reconsider its primary business. If by giving monopolized public attention to economic, social, and political actions, the public image of organized Protestantism becomes that of a "social action club" or simply another pressure group and we become aware of this image and are driven to a rediscovery of the primary purpose of the Church, then there is new hope for American Protestantism.

(The above is an extract from an article in *Christianity Today* (June 5, 1961) written by Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, Minister of the National Presbyterian Church of Washington, D. C., for 15 years. This was the church attended by General Eisenhower while he was in the White House.)

This Is It!

This is the last time I will request the craft unions to get their house in order. I will do everything in my power to prevent any legislation favorable to the craft unions from coming out of our Committee until they get in step with Democracy. Organized labor is the last national bastion of American bigotry.

—Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Chairman,
House Education and Labor Committee

Young Conservative Spirit

Lucy Jarvis, producer of the NBC network debate-type program "The Nation's Future," has changed her ideas about liberals and conservatives.

The studio audience of her television program is selective—people are invited. Miss Jarvis aims to see that the audience is balanced—approximately an equal number of supporters for each side.

Says Miss Jarvis:

"After seeing so many audiences in action, I changed my ideas about liberals being persons who are vocal and demonstrative. The young conservatives are the ones who get right into things. If you send 100 tickets to a group made up of young conservatives, you can figure at least 90 will come. But to get 90 people on the liberal side you'd have to send out more than 200 tickets."

Pain and Taxes

From the Baltimore Sun

Payroll deductions for Federal and state income taxes and social security may be the best of all possible ways to meet tax obligations. Certainly without the deductions by employers—particularly for the heavy Federal income levy—many of us would run into serious trouble when the annual day of accounting arrived. But payroll deductions are in a sense too painless—they tend to mask the true size of the tax burden, so that wage and salary earners forget actual pay and think only in terms of what they take home.

This is bad if our ideal is—as it is—an alert citizenry fully sensitive to the cost and scope of government. And the Goodwill Publishing Company of Gastonia, N. C., is doing something about it. This producer and distributor of Bibles and other inspirational books pays its employees every other Friday. There are no tax withholdings. Two hours later—after each employee has been able to finger his true income for a loving 120 minutes—the company paymaster visits each one and asks for his respective Federal and state income tax and social security installments.

No doubt this procedure is troublesome both for the employer and the employee. But it brings home —and sharply—to each employee every two weeks the heavy tax load he is carrying. One way or another all taxpayers, Federal, state and local, should learn this lesson.

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In Praise of a Junk Dealer

From the Wall Street Journal (August 8, 1961)

AMONG OUR friends is a man who came to this country many years ago and has prospered by buying and selling old automobiles, worn-out refrigerators and other cast-off things.

Now, if we understand him rightly, he has come to days when he is a little saddened by his life, troubled with the feeling that by just being a junk man he has wasted much of it.

Partly, perhaps, this is just an old man's feeling of being distant from his children, who have studied important things at college and speak so much better than he. But part of it is a deep troubling that in a world where so much needs to be done he has done nothing of much consequence.

Of course someone could point out to him that he has passed on two sons and a daughter, raised them to be people of character, educated them and started them upon their own way. This is no small accomplishment, and he surely must know it. Yet it does not fully comfort him, for he thinks he lives in a world where value is measured by other accomplishments. Buying and selling junk, he has come to feel, is not socially useful.

We suspect that our friend, these days, is not alone in this feeling of despondency of the usefulness of his life. A young girl is taught in college that childbearing and home-making is a wasted life; she must get out and "do something" for society. A young man is cheered if he turns his talent away from "making money" to some more seemly public service where he will redistribute the money of others.

Buying and selling is a function particularly disdained. Some years ago there was a hit comedy on Broadway that pictured a junk dealer as a sort of parasite, growing rich on a nation's trouble. Another prize-winning play had as its theme the thought the life of a salesman is a life tragically misspent. In novels, in movies, in television the man of business may be either hero or villain, but there is never any suggestion that by running a furniture factory the men in the executive suite are performing a social service.

Almost any day our friend can pick up a newspaper, a magazine or a "serious" book and read what a terrible thing it is to be part of an affluent society. To labor, to save, to care for one's own, to prosper—perhaps these things are not to be scorned, but what is there in them that is a contribution to society?

Against such a tide of sentiment, we can offer little to comfort. But we would, if we could, make him see what it is he really does.

He gathers up that which is useless and puts it to use. The debris that would otherwise be waste is collected, sorted, shipped and distributed to return again into the stream of raw materials that feed our factories. The shiny new ambulance which our village has bought, the new factory rising on the outskirts of your town, the highway our Government is building for that backward nation of Asia—all these things would be costlier but for those who buy and sell junk.

And if our friend has prospered it is only because he has learned to do this efficiently. No one rewards him unless he can deliver what the economy needs, at the time it needs it, and at the cheapest cost. No one excuses him if he bungles the job.

In this he no wise differs from all the thousands whose business is buying and selling. Yet the shoes the scornful wear, the bread they eat, the paper upon which they write, the things they use when they go off to uplift the lowly of Africa, these things are there at the place and time because others buy and sell.

Not so glamorous, perhaps, as the Peace Corps. Not so intellectual as writing a book on our ills. Not so much prestige as a desk on the New Frontier. But who can say that in those places men do more for their fellows?

White House Pressure

Congressman John J. Rhodes (R.-Ariz.), speaking to the HUMAN EVENTS journalism students' class, pointed out that Republicans—nearly all of whom are genuine conservatives—gained 23 seats in the House. This fact suggests a conservative trend, yet much liberal legislation has gotten through Congress. Why?

Answered Rhodes: *"The White House is worth 50 seats in the House"— so valuable is control of patronage, the pork barrel and defense spending.*

Why Fear Big Government?

. . . What is stolen by paternalistic government is that precious compound of initiative, independence and self-respect that distinguishes a man from a mob, a person from a number, a free man from a slave. Too much government planes off the peaks of excellence, hones down the differences, dries up diversity, and leaves a bleak sameness.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

Farm Foolishness

A Minnesota farmer has our sympathy—also the man he wanted to help. The farmer has 16 acres of land in the soil bank. It raised a lush growth of legume hay. He had to dispose of it. He offered to let a farmer from a nearby drouth county haul it off. Nothing doing. He had to chop it up and waste it. Reminds me of 1934 and the slaughter of little pigs and calves.

—Senator Francis Case (R.-S.D.)

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First Time Since Reconstruction Days

Republican Wins in South Carolina

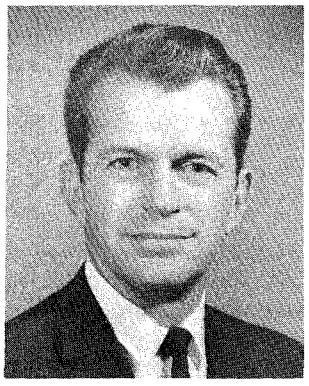
Democrat's Downfall: Support of JFK in 1960

By Anthony Harrigan

Associate Editor, The News and Courier, Charleston, South Carolina

AMERICANS living outside the South should know that a political revolution took place in South Carolina August 8. On that day, Charles E. Boineau, Jr., 37-year-old trucking company executive and wartime Navy flier, was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives from Richland County—seat of the state government.

For residents of Cedar Rapids, Sacramento, Indianapolis and other communities outside this Southern region, election of a Republican is a commonplace event in state and national politics. In South Carolina, however, it is nothing less than revolutionary. Not for 60 years has a Republican been elected to state office. Other Southern states have given their Presidential votes to Hoover, Eisenhower or Nixon—but not South Carolina.*



BOINEAU

Commenting on his victory, Boineau said: "We've done the impossible." Political observers across the nation will agree. This "impossible" Republican victory in a Deep South state, where people still say "I was born a Democrat," represents an epochal change in the outlook of a Southern state that always has sparked political movements in the South.

Arthur Ravenel, Jr., head of the Young Republicans in a large coastal county, gave this estimate of the significance of "Charlie" Boineau's election: "The Republican party's victory in Richland County inaugurates a new era in South Carolina politics. The two-party system has arrived in the person of Charles Boineau. His victory is not only a personal triumph but a victory for true Southern conservatives and Goldwater Republicans everywhere."

This statement throws light on the national significance of this South Carolina election. The issues in the contest between Boineau and Joe Berry, Jr., who ran with the all-out support of the Kennedy Democrats, were national issues.

Boineau attended the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference, July 14 and 15. When nominated by the GOP convention July 17, he styled himself a Goldwater Republican and "100 per cent conservative." He went on record as favoring Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) for President in 1964. Richland County voters knew his stand when they elected him to the legislature by a margin of 7,333 votes to Berry's 5,940—a smashing win by local standards.

In his acceptance speech July 17, Boineau called for a grass-roots revolt against the Kennedy New Frontier. He leveled a blast at "the majority of our elected South Carolina Democratic leaders who call themselves conservatives, [who] are doing everything in their power to enforce the Democratic party's socialistic platform." Declared Boineau: "We're tired of being sold down the river of socialism and we are going to begin where we have to begin—right here at home—Richland County, South Carolina."

This fight hasn't ended, however. The entire nation will witness the next important rounds. Indeed, this fight in a small but highly politically conscious state may have real bearing on the next Presidential election.

The revolution taking place in South Carolina is the conservative revolution. There are thousands of insurgent Southerners who think like "Charlie" Boineau.

Assessing the significance of this election is a process that's under way from Washington to small South Carolina counties where voters are restive under New Frontier rule.

In the Nation's Capital, Republican National Chairman William E. Miller termed Boineau's election a continuation of a trend "which finds the GOP making significant gains in the traditionally solid South."

In North Carolina, the Charlotte *Observer* said in its news columns that "Charlie" Boineau had discovered "that he has become modern conservatism's man of the hour. Twelve hours after celebrating his victory, Boineau was answering telephone calls from Texas, Washington and St. Louis, Missouri."

Dolly Hamby, one of Boineau's campaign workers, termed his victory "a revolt against power politics and high-handed government." Republicans, she said, "were not fighting for one seat in the State House of Representatives. We were fighting for a toe-hold for respectability and to remove the stigma from the word Republican."

The Columbia *Record* (afternoon daily) in the state capital singled out the organizational team-

* South Carolina has been the most anti-Republican state in the nation. From McKinley through Dewey no Republican Presidential candidate received as many votes from all of South Carolina as Boineau received from his county in the state legislature race.

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work of the Boineau election. "Unversed in political affairs," said the *Record*, "the Republicans overcame the skilled and professional Democratic machinery, which threw the best that the party could offer into Richland County. State and local Democratic leaders—including Frank Sloan, chairman of the successful state campaign for Kennedy—entered the fray. The fledgling organization met and defeated the very best that the Democrats could offer in time, talent and money."

Speaking of money, the 44-day campaign was financed with $8,000 raised in small contributions from 1,800 people.

PRESS REACTION in South Carolina to the Boineau election shows that "Republican" no longer is a dirty word in state politics.

The Beaufort *Gazette*, weekly newspaper on the seacoast, said the election outcome "may be taken as just another piece of evidence in support of the contention that the American people today are trying to think for themselves. They are casting aside restrictions that have kept them entrapped for many decades . . . . The syrup of socialistic experiments has turned sour."

The Republican party's own assessment of the surprise victory was given in a special statement to HUMAN EVENTS by Robert F. Chapman, able and energetic young chairman of the GOP in South Carolina:

> The significance of Mr. Boineau's victory, aside from his being the first Republican elected since Reconstruction, is the fact that the election was in the state capital and handled by a Republican organization less than one year old.
>
> The Richland County Republican Party was reorganized late last fall when it was taken over by a group of young South Carolinians. They saw the Republican party as the only hope for constitutional government and realized that they could no longer leave the government to the politicians.
>
> All of these people are political amateurs, none of them ever having run for public office. In the state capital, they faced the opposition of all elected officials as well as the votes of state employes and people who were afraid to work or vote against the established political order.
>
> Mr. Boineau ran as a Goldwater-Tower Republican. And the two other candidates (editor's note: the third, an independent who called himself a states-righter, received only 260 votes) tried every way to convince the people that they were also conservatives. One newspaper advertisement by Joe Berry stated that the Republicans had no monopoly on conservatism. Berry had the full support from the Democrat machine but never called himself a Democrat and was not listed on the ballot as a Democrat.
>
> **For the first time, a Democratic candidate was either afraid or ashamed to wear the party label.**
>
> I think that the election shows that the people are tired of one-party politics, that they realize the Republican party is the home for true conservatives, that local Democrats find it impossible to disassociate themselves from the national party and that a courageous, attractive candidate with a cause and a small but dedicated organization can work political miracles.
>
> I think the election also shows that John Tower's success in Texas was not an isolated incident, but an indicator of things to come.

Senator Tower is coming to South Carolina in September for a major GOP rally, at which he will be introduced by Boineau. The Texan and the nation at large will discover that these Goldwater Republicans in South Carolina are determined to elect a "100 per cent conservative" to the US Senate next year.

Senator Olin D. Johnston, the Democratic incumbent, is expected to seek re-election. In all likelihood, he will be opposed by Governor Ernest F. Hollings, Jr. Both men gave all-out support to candidate Kennedy in the 1960 Presidential race, though both are working hard to make conservative noises as the election season draws near.

The Boineau victory indicates that South Carolina conservatives, who came within 10,000 votes of carrying the state for Nixon last November, do not intend to forgive or forget. The Nixon campaign failed because the GOP organization was hastily improvised—indeed non-existent in many counties. South Carolina Republicans don't intend to make that mistake again. Chapman plans to build an organization in every one of the state's 46 counties. In Charleston, the big coastal county, Chairman John M. Horlbeck already has a strong GOP team in action. More than 200 Young Republicans turned out in steaming July weather to hear a speech by Senator Goldwater!

The big question: Who will be the GOP candidate for the US Senate next year? There's talk that former Senator Charles E. Daniel, prominent industrialist, will move into the Republican camp and seek the nomination. Messrs. Chapman and Horlbeck are possible candidates, as both are young and able. Boineau's victory—the demonstration that he can beat a Democrat—unquestionably qualifies him for a draft movement.

There's no lack of talent or enthusiasm in the party for a Senate contest. In addition, the GOP has the advantage of rising militancy in the ranks of the state's conservatives. Far from being crushed by the Kennedy victory, South Carolina conservatives, like those in Texas, have been moved to vigorous action. And every piece of New Frontier legislation, every boondoggle and act of appeasement overseas, provides fresh incentive to aggressive conservative Republicans in the state.

"Charlie" Boineau's upset victory has furnished the confidence that the Republican party needs to enter the senatorial race. As one GOP member said on election night, Boineau is "the South's astronaut of the Republican party."

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HUMAN EVENTS

August 25, 1961

Purge of Patriotism

By Allan Ryskind

SENATOR J. William Fulbright's special memorandum regarding the military may yet go down as one of the most crucial documents affecting the history of the Cold War. For what hinges upon this memorandum is not whether "radical right wing" military men should publicly oppose Kennedy's domestic program—the memorandum cites only one such instance of this ever happening—but whether the citizens of this Republic shall be told that the Communists are a dynamic, ruthless and irreconcilable foe.

Since the Korean War, when American soldiers defected to the enemy and American officers signed petitions falsely accusing the United States of using germ warfare, the government has realized the necessity of educating its soldiers and citizens as to the nature of communism. To achieve this end, the National Security Council, the top strategic planning board in the United States, adopted a directive in 1958 enabling military personnel and facilities to be used to arouse the public "to the menace of the cold war." As a result of this directive, the National War College, in conjunction with the scholarly Foreign Policy Research Institute of Pennsylvania, headed by Professor Strausz-Hupe, and the Institute of American Strategy, arranged summer seminars for reserve officers in Washington. Such noted speakers came to these seminars as Senator Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.), Dr. Henry Kissinger, an expert on nuclear warfare, Allen W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation director, and Dean Acheson, Secretary of State under Truman. Similar seminars have been held locally in other parts of the country.

Senator Fulbright's privately-prepared memorandum, translated into Pentagon policy on July 10, strikes at the very heart of this program. The avowed aim of the memorandum is to choke off such expert opinion and the Senator has already achieved part of his goal:

• The memorandum suggests the National War College sever its relations with the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Institute for American Strategy, since these organizations may give a "more aggressive view" to "military and civilian concepts of strategy than is desirable." This year, for the first time since these seminars were initiated in 1958, the National War College refused to use these organizations in preparing its annual July program.

• The memorandum attacks the use by the military of the film "Operation Abolition," which portrays the May, 1960, Communist led riots in San Francisco against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Pentagon has forbidden the services to show this film to military personnel.

• The memorandum strongly indicates that military seminars should be abolished, since these activities supposedly violate the concept of civilian control over the military. Senator Strom Thurmond, who did yeoman work in bringing the memorandum to public light, charged from the Senate floor on August 11 that the Pentagon had prevented a two-week seminar in Panama for the purpose of alerting reserve officers to the dangers of communism in the South and Central American regions. The Army also notified the Chamber of Commerce of Indianapolis, Indiana, this month that its preparations for a Cold War seminar at Fort Benjamin Harrison had been cancelled.

The argument given by Fulbright to support his memorandum, backed by the President in his August 10 press conference, is that the military should not educate the people on "political issues." This, however, is a typical smoke screen which clouds the real nature of the memorandum. A cursory glance shows that Fulbright's memo levels its sharpest blows not against the military but against the civilians who spoke out at these seminars. Most of the military men who are attacked in the memo are not men on active duty, but retired officers.

The sheer hypocrisy of the civilian control argument is further revealed when Fulbright intimates that such civilian organizations as the Foreign Policy Research Institute, which did a study for Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee in 1959, and the Institute of American Strategy, which President Kennedy has himself praised, should have nothing further to do with the military.

NEITHER does it seem possible that the President believes, with Fulbright, that these seminars produce a "virulent right-wing radicalism." Senator Douglas and Acheson can hardly be accused of "right-wing radicalism."

What, then, is the real reason the Administration has supported the memorandum? The liberals, it is believed, have convinced Kennedy that these seminars will result in dire consequences for the Democratic party, which is supported by the bedrock of liberalism. What Fulbright *et al* obviously fear is that if the public, which has attended these seminars in droves, ever truly becomes alerted to the "menace of the cold war," it will rise up in wrath to sweep the liberals from entrenched positions of power. That they are dreadfully fearful of a growth of grass-roots toughness toward communism, in short, an attitude of patriotism, is evident by the bald assertions of the memorandum itself.

The memo plainly stresses that the seminars have "great appeal to the public," as if this were a cardinal sin, and warns Kennedy that in the future they may have "much greater appeal."

Specifically, Fulbright lashes out against popular seminars held in his own home state of Arkansas and one in Pennsylvania, the home of liberal Senator Joseph Clark. Fulbright is so wary of an educated public that he dares contend:

"Fundamentally, it is believed that the American people have little, if any, need to be 'alerted to the menace of the cold war.'" So panicked is the Senator by a possible rise in patriotism that he says we must "restrain the desire of the people to hit the Communists with everything we've got . . . Pride in victory, and frustration in restraint, during the Korean War, led to MacArthur's revolt and to McCarthyism."

The Senator has already taken great pains to close off the possibility that the people will continue to possess a feeling of "pride in victory."

His recommendations to end military seminars have been carried out. He also has recommended that civilian thought-control units now police the military. His memo requests, for example, that a civilian committee now "review all troop information and education activities of military personnel," and that a board of "civilian educators should begin the development of a program for exposure of promising military officers to broader educational opportunities."

Since the Senator objects to the civilian educators that have already appeared at these seminars, it is clear that he wishes to stock his proposed thought-control units with civilian educators of his own particular philosophy. The Defense Department denies that it has established any of these civilian units, but if that day comes this Republic should fear for its very existence.

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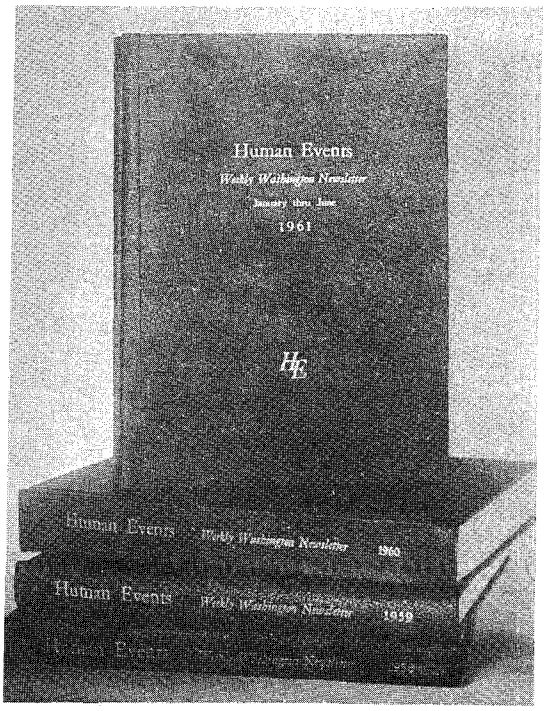

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